1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

121 177 be recognized. *First*, there is a sympathetic but entirely unsystematic use of the culture in question which collects folk-lore, customs, or other single items to use them as illustrations, as lesson or sermon material, &c., but without reference to their context in the fabric or pattern of the culture. *Second*, there is an attempt to rebuild those functions or institutions which *a priori* are judged essential and to leave untouched those judged unessential. Still, whatever is done, is done without reference to the pattern of the culture in question and the criteria are predetermined. ***The third method*** is that advocated by the present study. It begins with a systematic study of the culture in question, especially its characteristic patterns of behaviour, significant attitudes, beliefs and customs; and the effect of its contact with other cultures; in order

To determine and describe the content;

To analyse and evaluate this content with reference to its bearing upon present local needs; and

To make suggestions for tentative procedures which shall build upon indigenous patterns of behaviour, make adjustment to approved attitudes from the outside as easy as possible, and work toward a continuous and self-functioning process of self-adjustment.

The view-point assumed is a composite of practical anthropology, progressive education, and the newer approach to Christian missions. The criteria have been evolved in part through a study of the local situation and its needs.

127 *Sources.* More documentary material has been sifted than the references indicate. The historical account which has finally been incorporated as Chapter XII was written before the main part of this study and served as an important part of its background.

128 124 The chief sources, however, are original materials descriptive of certain phases of Umbundu life and culture—materials gathered on the field over a period of years, especially between 1933 and 1938. Much of it consists of traditional 'literature' (folk-tales, proverbs, riddles and songs). More of it, however, consists of descriptions of customs, beliefs, institutions and other culture traits secured from personal observation, from descriptions by natives, from schedules collected and written up by trained natives, and Umbundu autobiographical data. Much of this is given in direct translation, certain parts in summary or by reference, while the rest has served as background.

1: Childs M-5 (1934-1940) 1949 FP 13 Mbamba FP 13

Limits of time and space have made it necessary to restrict the study to the two major fields of social structure and education. These two phases were chosen because description of them seems to be pre-requisite to treatment of other areas of the culture, and also because of their inherent importance both anthropologically and educationally. In order to provide background and make for better understanding, an introductory chapter on 'Habitat' has been provided. I hope to illustrate the remaining phases of the culture at a later date. 121

It is not possible adequately to thank, nor even to mention by name, all those for whose help I am indebted. It would never have been possible to organize this study had it not been for a generous provision of fellowships and of many facilities by Union Theological Seminary in New York City, and also for the necessary allowance of time during two furloughs by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. For extraordinary facilities put at my disposal, I am grateful to the Missionary Research Library and to its Director, Mr. C. H. Fahs. Among my many teachers at Union Seminary, Teachers' College, and in the Anthropology Department of Columbia University, for whose help I am indebted, I must name Professors I. L. Kandel, D. J. Fleming, A. L. Swift, Jun., Gene Weltfish, George Herzog, and Ralph Linton, who have freely given me much advice, counsel, and encouragement. For an especially high order of help I am very deeply indebted to Dr. Ruth Fulton Benedict and to Professor Harrison S. Elliott. Dr. Benedict not only gave freely of her time and wisdom as teacher and counsellor, but she also gave much encouragement and assistance in the task of arranging publication. For help with the German source material, I am indebted to my wife. To these whom I have named, and to many others, go my sincere thanks. 000

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THE manuscript was revised in Africa in 1940 and the typing, done by J. C. Lasaro, African secretary of Currie Institute (Dondi), was completed in March 1941. It is now nearly six years later that the opportunity for publication has finally been realized. It is not 128

1: Childs M-5 (1924-1940) 1949 FP13 Mbundu FP13

128 possible to make a new revision at this time nor do I feel this necessary. Many changes have taken place, but I feel that the tendencies here outlined in 1939–40 continue to operate. A few notes have been added, especially with regard to matters on which the 1940 Census of Angola, published 1941–43, has thrown new light. For much original material, and for suggestions and help 000 in revision, I am very grateful to many of my African friends and colleagues, especially the Rev. P. Ngonga Liahuka, Rev. Abraham Ngulu, Rev. R. Kavita Evambi (deceased, 1946), Sr. Pedro Paulo, and Sr. H. Kapiñalã Sukuakueche; and also to Dr. and Mrs. Merlin W. Ennis. I wish to thank Mr. Lewin and Professor Doke of the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor Schapera of the University of Cape Town, and Dr. Max Gluckman of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (Northern Rhodesia) for their helpful interest. I am grateful, indeed, to the International African Institute and to the University of Witwatersrand Press, under whose auspices this study appears.

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AUBURNDALE, MASSACHUSETTS,

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3: Hambly E-5 (1929-1930) 1934 FP13 Mbundu FP13

283 In the beginning a thread from the fluffy mass on the stick is fastened to a corncob or to a potato, the weight of which keeps the thread taut (Plate XXXVI, Fig. 1).

[462] I have never seen a woman spinning and am informed that in former days the working of the loom was a task for men only.

463 In presenting facts bearing on the economic life of the Ovimbundu attention has been paid to the importance of ritual, specialization 791 in industry, and division of labor on a sex basis. Clearly, the economic life is one of the fundamentals of social structure, while at many points it is a field in which the magician works.

132 Topography and climate have fixed certain conditions which, so 241 far as the Benguela Highlands are concerned, favor agriculture on an extensive scale, also the keeping of cattle. In the Benguela Highlands a moderate temperature, combined with sufficient rainfall, has produced a type of vegetation which provides timbers serviceable to the craftsman, together with bush that affords shelter for game.

128 The bearing of these economic facts on the probable origins of traits, and their assembly to form the tribal life of the Ovimbundu, is reserved for discussion in chapters dealing with culture contacts and cultural processes. In chapters X–XII the factual material presented here under "Economic Life" is correlated with what is known of similar activities in cultures surrounding that of the Ovimbundu.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
FP13 Mbundu FP13

Bailundo.[13] On the kinship system, however, I was even more disappointed. The information which I was given on the matrilineal groups formerly existing was much less than that provided by Hastings,[14] or by Childs,[15] and I have therefore not been able to obtain the detail for which I had hoped on the double-descent system.

Like all anthropologists I had a certain number of difficulties in making contact with the people, and to these were added the problems of finding underlying consistencies in a changing society. The Ovimbundu are not interested in genealogies and did not see why I was. My first attempts to take village censuses were regarded with great suspicion, and more than once people refused to give their names. Kinship terms and norms seemed to be and were very confused. Various matters, such as surviving pagan rituals, were concealed from me. My personal relations with the people were very happy, however, and almost everybody who came to know me was prepared to answer my questions at length.

My two great problems in the field were to obtain information on the old social structure (which I already knew in outline from the written material), and to see how the present-day society worked. The material in this thesis will be laid out in the following way. The first part will give an outline of Umbundu social structure as it was in the period 1874–1911,[16] that is, the era of the rubber trade. The second part will give a series of chapters on present day Umbundu society, which will provide the information necessary for an understanding of the mechanisms of social control. In the third part a detailed discussion of social control is made, beginning with an examination of a number of disputes. It is shown how the network of kinship and marriage ties in a neighbourhood provide local continuity and stability, while the wider units in which the Ovimbundu now participate are of European origin and control.

[13] Cassongue and Cela were tributary to Bailundo but were not incorporated into the actual kingdom (Childs, p. 168). Cassongue people say that they are not Va-Mbailundu.

[14] Hastings, Chapter VI.

[15] Hastings gives more information than Childs on the matrilineal kin group.

[16] The period of the rubber trade. Childs, pp. 208–15.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
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565 Their higher social status limits their contacts with the villagers without giving them positions of direct control. Hence they are not leaders in the native social system. They are significant for
565 the culture of village Ovimbundu since they are one of the
177 channels for the communication of European culture traits, and their very existence indicates the possibility of becoming 'equal with the white man"[21]

797 More significant than the *assimilados* as a means of linking the
177 Ovimbundu with the whites, of the transmitting of cultural values, and of the creation of new statuses and groupings at village level, are the missions.

●128 In the following chapters, the composition and degree of solidarity of the sub-chiefdom, and village, the network of kinship ties, the choice of marriage partners, and the means of social control will be discussed in their operation among the Ovimbundu who are inescapably tied to Portuguese rule, to world markets, and to the spiritual authority of the missions.

[21] I have the impression that in the cities there is some feeling that the status of *assimilado* does not give real equality but simply exemption from such burdens as road work.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
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[Village of Epalanga]

602 'close' kin may not be able to indicate the set of genealogical[8] links between them and will not be at all surprised or even interested by this; hence it is impossible to draw up a genealogy of Epalanga. I have attempted to show the very complicated 128 network of relationships by a series of charts—one big chart would have so many cross-cutting lines as to be largely unintelligible.

Three charts are given to illustrate particular sections of the mesh of kin and affinal ties. They are not intended as exhaustive records of the relationship of any one kinship core or of any single individual. Rather, they are intended to give a general impression of how the proliferation of the strands of kinship [621] and marriage brings about a complicated and formless patchwork in which everybody is included.

2. *Information on Household Heads*

601 List I. Residents of Epalanga as of December 1956. Female 621 household heads are indicated by a star against their names. The numbers are used on the map of the village (see p. 50).

Sapapula's Kinship Core

1. Aspirante, sister's son of Sapapula, son-in-law of Wayangu.
2. *Avilo, sister's daughter of Sapapula, 'sister' to Tjingonene (31).
3. Batista, son of Epalata (5) and husband of a sister of Kasosi (7).
4. Bernacio, son-in-law of Sapapula, 'son' to Kàsosi (7).
5. Epalata, matrilateral cross-cousin of Sapapula.
6. Ernesto, sister's son of Sapapula, full brother of Aspirante (1) married to a daughter's daughter of Sasamela (see List II).
7. Kasosi, 'grandson' of Sapapula through being sister's son[9] to Wasuka (15). A 'son' to Guilherme and 'father' to Bernacio (4).

[8] Ovimbundu even traditionally seem to have been little interested in genealogies. (Information from Dr. G. M. Childs.)

[9] According to Umbundu kinship terminology, Wasuka being a matrilateral cross-cousin of Sapapula could call him 'father' and Kasosi could call his mother's brother's (Wasuka) father 'grandfather'.

½ [cf. charts on pp. 91, 96, 97, in category 116-Analyst]

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
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of the men's house, and the headman's loss of status. The new institution of the catechetical school does not revive village solidarity in this form. The contemporary Ovimbundu do not live in a 'village headman society' comparable to those of British Central Africa,[13] since the concept and manifestations of village solidarity around a headman are so notably deficient. Reference may also be made to the economic ethics of the Ovimbundu with their approval of making money and the belief that all loans even within the circle of the elementary family should be repaid, that is, wealth is seen by all as an end in itself rather than a means of obtaining personal loyalties.

In the previous chapter it was shown how the traditional headmanship is no longer a significant legal and political institution. In this chapter I have tried to indicate that it lacks sources of authority and prestige within the village.

The line of argument has involved reference to the contemporary kinship system of which an outline has been given. This will be more fully discussed in later chapters, when a more detailed comparison of present institutions with the traditional kinship system will be made.

[13] For an example of these societies see J. C. Mitchell, *The Yao Village*, Manchester 1956.

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CHAPTER VII

KINSHIP

1. *General Aspects*

128 A good deal has been said about the contemporary kinship system in Chapter IV, where it was discussed from the point of view of the local organization rather than in its own right. This chapter must, therefore, to some extent, refer to information already presented in Chapters I and IV, since there are three problems to be discussed—the form of the old kinship [121] system, the form of the present kinship system, and the reasons for the changes from one system to the other.

The following approach will be adopted: the ethnographic sources for Umbundu kinship will be examined, information will then be given on the kinship norms formerly valid, and an attempt will then be made to give a coherent sketch of the system then existing. After this, reference will be made to the actual operation of present-day kinship norms and the significance of descent and inheritance. Then factors in the transition between the two systems will be brought forward.

611 It has been generally accepted by commentators on the ethnographic material that the traditional Umbundu kinship system is of the type called a 'double-descent' system.[1] 'Descent' is used by British anthropologists to imply membership of a group involving rights and duties.[2] Hence, it can only be claimed that the Ovimbundu possessed such a system if there existed two sets of kin groups, and not simply some combination of matrilineal inheritance and virilocal residence at marriage.

One anthropologist, Mr. W. D. Hambly, and two missionaries

[text continues on p. 92]

[1] For other African double-descent systems see *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, ed. Radcliffe-Brown and Forde (Oxford, 1950), pp. 79, 285–339.

[2] The word seems to have been first used in this sense by W. H. R. Rivers.

6:Edwards E-5 (1955-1956)1962
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602 183 the same time clearly an important part of social life. Kinship norms are confused, as is the correct term to use in a particular relationship. Ritual and jural sanctions are lacking, as are institutions based on the regular co-operation of groups of kinsmen. Yet a man likes to live with kinsfolk and there is a tendency for kin to cluster together in a neighbourhood.

602 621 By the very facts, that so many of a man's neighbours are his kinsmen, and that there is very little marked differentiation between the behaviour towards different categories of kin, kinship is robbed of any great specificity of content. It might be said that it is the quantity rather than the quality of kinship ties that makes kinship significant in establishing a 'sense of community' in a neighbourhood, in that the multiplicity of local kin ties creates some identification between a man's range of kin and his neighbourhood. At the same time a kinship tie provides a basis on which a closer relationship may be built by reciprocal services. It appears that the inheritance of property 602 428 recognizes kinship in this way by recognizing claims not on the basis of strict genealogical proximity but on the quality of the relationship.

• 128 A discussion of marriage and the household must be left to the next chapter. The outline given of the present kinship system is sufficiently clear to begin an examination of the reasons for the changes. This must rely to some extent on speculation, owing to a lack of information on the actual working of the kinship system while it was in transition to its present form.

613 178 The key change is the disappearance of the kinship groups. These, it seems, disappeared because of their high degree of dependence on the particular type of economy existing before 1911. It has already been argued that the distinction between the patrikin and the matrikin is an attempt to isolate economic claims and conflicts from village and political relationships, and that the giving of loans without right of repayment within the matrikin was called for by a trading system in which credit played an important part. With the end of the trade the wealth passing through Umbundu hands declined sharply, and there was neither need for funds to meet trading losses nor currency to provide them. A man obtained money either by growing crops